of Rome as the supreme head of their church, the pioneers of the Union and of the cultural independence of Ukraine wished to throw off the cultural yoke of Poland, thinking that they would acquire equal rights with the Poles once the churches were united. The course of events has showed how much they were mistaken; for the Poles have merely exploited this rapprochement in ecclesiastical affairs as an instrument by means of which, with the help of the Jesuits, they aimed at ruling over the entire East and at completely absorbing the Ukrainian nation. 795

Western influence can also be detected in the guild-like organisations of the Ukrainian middle-classes in towns like Lviv Kyiv, Lutsk etc., organisations which, in addition to promoting the interests of a particular class or trade, also concerned themselves with church affairs. One of their main aims was the foundation of schools which taught Latin as well as Church Slavonic and Greek. 441 871

The most important foundation of those so-called Brotherhood schools was undoubtedly the Kyiv Academy which owed its supremacy as an intellectual center, not only of Ukraine, but of the whole of Eastern Europe to the activities of such an eminent personality as Metropolitan Peter Mohyla. Mohyla, the son of the governor of Moldavia and educated in Jesuit schools, remained a life-long advocate of western culture and the Catholic Church, the organisation of which served him as a model when he was planning the reform of the Orthodox Church. We are scarcely able to-day to imagine what an enormous revolution and what great boldness of spirit was implied in the idea of introducing Catholic principles and methods into the organisation of the Orthodox Church which had been hostile to Rome for centuries. And yet this unique plan succeeded and could succeed only in Ukraine, for it was here alone that history had prepared the way for the adoption of these plans for realising western ideas. The spirit which inspired Mohyla's activities was wholly directed towards the West, as was clearly expressed in his innovations: in dogma, however, he remained a loyal disciple of the "faith 874 795 177 .79

874 of his fathers", of the Orthodoxy. He is thus a concrete symbol
795 of the synthesis of two worlds, of the harmonious and complete
177 union of two cultures, of the meeting of East and West and of
.79 the fertilising of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Latin spirit of the Roman Catholic Church.

795 The seed scattered by Mohyla bore rich fruit. Hundreds of
874 scholars, writers, politicians and organisers graduated in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries from this unique "alma mater", the Kyiv Academy, equipped with the modern weapons of western learning, to fight first of all for the independence and the honor of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. After completing their studies in Kyiv the Ukrainian patriots of that time go to Germany to appropriate the arguments used by the Reformation against Catholicism, they penetrate to Rome and do not shrink from joining the Roman Church for a season only in order to become better acquainted with their opponent's plans in the very center of his camp. On their return home they develop an energetic campaign in teaching and writing to prepare and train wide circles of less well educated priests for the fight. In order to supply their audiences with intellectual munition, they publish a series of pamphlets directed against the enemy and all manner of apologies in defence of their own cause, utilising the knowledge they had gathered in the West. This leads to an enormous outburst of polemic writing, to an intellectual activity in the country which strikes even foreigners.

177 But the efforts of these champions of Ukrainian Orthodoxy
814 who had been trained in the West, did not stop there; they performed a still more important function in making European influence supreme in the state of Moscow, or the Russia of Peter, as it was then called. Ukraine contributed no mean share to the work of Peter the Great. The foundation and building of the modern Russian Empire was the almost unaided work of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for the intellectual conditions for the solving of this task were almost completely lacking in Moscow itself. In order to carry out his reforms which soon degenerated into an absolute mania for reform, Peter utilised

3. Vocational training which started at 15 and included the following stages: 871

a) a vocational school lasting 2 or 3 years giving courses in industrial subjects, machinery, agriculture, medicine and economics, followed by a practical year for the purpose of preparing qualified workers. After graduating from that

b) a technical institute with a course of 3 years for advanced study, the results of which were to be applied to practice. Scientific tasks were performed in

c) institutes with professorial chairs for training highly qualified practical experts and also by

d) academies with a 2 years' course for the purpose of training young scholars and researchers in every province of science.

What cannot fail to strike us in this basic plan is the entire absence of universities and other colleges which are replaced mainly by institutes, academies and faculties for working men. As far as the institutes are concerned, the champions of this system of education maintain that it was only possible to establish them after a severe struggle against the university system, "which preserved important remnants of mediaeval scholastic learning, dissolved scientific research in philosophical thought and had radically reduced the scientific function of the university to a minimum." The universities, therefore, were played out and had to be replaced by another form of higher learning.

The institutes for the education of the public, which were formed out of the old universities with the help of teachers from former teachers' training colleges, are a special group. They possess three faculties, viz. 1. the faculty of social education intended to train teachers for the communal gardens and for the elementary schools, 2. the faculty of vocational training which, as its name implies, had to supply the vocational schools and technical schools with teachers and finally 3. the faculty for political enlightenment; this last faculty trained propagandists and lecturers to enlighten wide circles of the population, teachers 874 ●

874 for party schools, for workmen's clubs and centers of adult education in the country.

871 In the course of years this basic scheme underwent many changes till it was adapted to the general Soviet scheme in 1932; by a resolution passed by the Central Executive of the Communist Party on August 25 of that year the 7-year elementary school in Ukraine was transformed into a 10-year school, a third section being added, and the technical schools which had not yet become institutes were put on the same level as the higher schools; new universities had to be founded in order to cope with the difficult tasks of cultural reconstruction. It is not our place here to criticise this or that measure; in order to evaluate these radical reforms properly one would have not only to examine the plans but also their application in practice and the results they achieved.

We are, however, particularly interested in the national element in the general system of communist education which finds articulate expression in the language used.

195 871 In the original Ukrainian Socialist Republic the Ukrainian language was to have priority as the official language; this point of view was approved even in 1920 after the Revolution and steps were taken to make Ukrainian the vehicle of instruction throughout the schools where this had not already been done. Ukrainian nationalists were quick to seize this opportunity of promoting their native tongue and to aim at positive results at least in this province. But the growth in national consciousness among the broad masses of workmen and peasants due to the intensified use of the Ukrainian language began to make communist leading circles in the country uneasy. Russian was introduced as a second official language, by which the authorities hoped to put a brake on nationalism and to prevent Ukrainian influences from becoming too strong. Thus there were throughout Ukraine schools taught in two, and even three languages in order that Russian and Jewish minorities might enjoy their own rights. This preference shown to national minorities greatly handicapped the proper official language, a fact that was the more striking the higher the level of school investigated. The position of Ukrainian was most precarious at the universities,

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Like the cooperative movement, popular education had long been a cornerstone of Ukrainian nationalism, more important in many respects than direct political action. In the conflict between the national Communists in the Ukraine and the Stalinist centralists, it was especially the commissars of education, such as Shums'kyi and Skrypnyk, who had led the fight for Ukrainization of cultural life. Consequently it was natural that nationalist Ukrainians were determined to control the municipal departments of education under German occupation.

A major aim of the Reichskommissar and his henchmen, however, was to prevent the development of a cultured Ukrainian class, to convert the people into a race of submissive peasants. Rosenberg's vision of a university in Kiev went by the board, and the standard schooling for every Ukrainian child was set at four years.[35] Few material injuries were as deeply resented as this drastic curb on the opportunities for education. Since there were real shortages of materials, books, and teachers, the Ukrainians held to the hope that the restriction did not represent a permanent policy, even in the face of the closing of *gimnaziias* which had been reopened under the army administration through the efforts of the local population itself.[36]

To a limited extent the ban on secondary and higher education was evaded by the extensive use made of a loophole in the German regulations which allowed the reopening of technical schools. The enormous loss of artisans and professionally trained persons incurred by the annihilation of the Jewish inhabitants compelled even the power-mad Nazis to recognize the need for training Ukrainians in such occupations. A large number of technical secondary schools, agricultural schools, and even institutes of higher education like medical faculties, were permitted. The extent to which these facilities were utilized by the Ukrainian population is indicated by the fact that the enrollment of the Kiev medical institute reached 2,000 in 1943 when the total population of the city was only 300,000, while Kherson, with a fifth

[35] Report of Rosenberg to Hitler, August 11, 1942, PS 42 (hereafter referred to as PS 42); PS 1198.

[36] E.g., in Berdichev (*Nastup*, September 20, 1941, p. 3, quoting *Nova Doba* [Berdichev] for September 1), Zhitomir (Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941), and Belaia Tserkov' (*Nationalist*, December 20, 1941, p. 2).

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874 727 186 that number of inhabitants, had 541 students in its medical school.[37] Medical institutes were also reopened in Stalino, Dniepropetrovsk, and Vinnitsa, and perhaps in other cities, although it is doubtful if any of these were the centers of nationalist youth organization which the faculty in Kiev became under the leadership of the OUN-M.[38]

The educational structure described in the preceding paragraph was designed for adolescents or young adults, and thus could be used for direct propagation of nationalist concepts. It was, of course, partly for this reason that the Germans confined advanced training within such narrow limits. Even these restrictions were not the end of the difficulties faced in inculcating a nationalist type of education in those about to assume the role of citizens, [466] for the technical schools were frequently emptied of their students and faculty to meet the demands of the *Ostarbeiter* recruiters. The elementary schools were also drained of teachers by the *Ostarbeiter* program, and the pupils, though too young for forced labor, were decimated by famine and plague. If the task of building national consciousness had to be viewed as a long-term one, then the four-year elementary school offered a considerable field for cultivation.[39]

191 727 872 186 The problem confronting the nationalist leaders in education was twofold: they had to ensure a basis for the development of an independent Ukraine by making certain that all instruction was in the Ukrainian language, so that the rising generation would be fully at home in this speech; and they had to replace the Communist ideology by a positive nationalist concept. The first task was relatively uncomplicated, though far from easy in practice. In line with their policy of encouraging the purely nonpolitical aspects of Ukrainian nationality, the Germans ordered all instruction to be in Ukrainian. The nationalist directors enthusiastically supported this rule, but it was sometimes difficult to enforce it, since even teachers who were themselves nationalist in sentiment were not always able to conduct classes in Ukrainian.[40]

[37] Occ E-4 (1); *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, October 10, 1942, p. 1.

[38] See Chapter V.

[39] In Kiev alone there were fifty elementary schools with 17,000 students (*Krakivs'ki Visti*, April 11, 1942, p. 2).

[40] Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 12, 1942, p. 4; M. Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki*

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nor to beat the superior of a monastery to such an extent that the unfortunate one died a short time after), Mohila was the personification of the reaction against the democracy of the preceding epoch in the bosom of Orthodoxy. When still an Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev, he established there, at his own expense, a school which was afterwards to become the famous Kiev Academy. It was to Rome that he sent those monks to study who were destined to become the first teachers, and it was from Latin that he translated his *Ritual*, a book which was read throughout Russia. As a result the people of Kiev became disturbed on learning that the teaching of the Academy was that of Latin scholasticism, and that the Latin language occupied a predominant place.

Greek and Latin naturally remained subjects of teaching, but the whole religious literature suffered from the effect of the forms of eloquence which were then being used in the Catholic world.

We know the role which was played by the Academy of Kiev in the development of Imperial Russian civilization, and it was Mohila himself who first proposed, though prematurely, in 1640, to found a school on the Kiev model in Moscow. But the artificial character of the religious literature, of which the Academy was the centre, delayed for long the blossoming of literary genius in the Ukraine.

The current of popular inspiration having been slowed down, that which was printed in the eighteenth century had almost no literary or national value. The famous printing press of the Monastery of Potchaiev, in Western Volynia, generally limited itself to editing the books required for divine service in old Slavonic. Amongst its other publications only the collection of religious poems, the 'Bogoglasnik,' presents some

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361 It seems to us opportune to give an idea of the Ukraine by describing the urban populations which are, from the point of view of European town life, to a great extent among the best organized Russian towns.

The most European town is Odessa. Founded at the end of the eighteenth century, it has broad and straight avenues and streets bordered by plane trees and acacias and built according to a plan, very well paved, with the most perfect modern drainage systems, with very comfortable houses, and finally with its port which is constructed in accordance with the technically most advanced principles. Odessa can easily compete with the great European towns of the same importance. It is curious that the first governors of Odessa, who have done much for the embellishment of the town, were two French *émigrés*, the Duc de Richelieu and the Comte de Langeron, whose names have been given to two [874] important streets. The University of Odessa, called that of New Russia, has been the cultural centre not only of the southern region of the Ukraine but it also attracted the young people of the Crimea and the Caucasus. Its great commercial activity, its external night life, and its [162] cosmopolitan population, having 43 per cent Jews, 42 per cent Russians (Great Russians and Ukrainians), 6 per cent Greeks, 3 per cent Germans, 2 per cent Poles, 3 per cent Italians, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, and others, gave it before the Revolution the appearance of a Mediterranean city.

Kharkov, also a University town, is to-day a European city, but, unlike Odessa, it owes its modern appearance to the Soviet regime. During fifteen years it had been the capital of the Ukraine and it has taken advantage of this position by completely changing its appearance which, before the last war, was very poor.

Kiev is a picturesque town lying on the hills of the right bank of the Dnieper. It is undoubtedly the most

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attractive town not only of the Ukraine but of the whole of Russia. Its magnificent public gardens amaze the visitors. It is excelled by Odessa from the point of view of town organization but excels it by far from the æsthetic point of view. Its [2]University of St. Vladimir and its Polytechnic School enjoyed a great reputation in Russia.

Among the other towns with a European appearance one can mention Nicolaiev, the port at the mouth of the Boug; Vinnitza, the capital of Podolia, and to-day perhaps Dniepropetrovsk, which has the School of Mines, founded some years before the Great War. These cities have modern public buildings, up-to-date railway stations, good networks of tramways, etc.

In the domain of the organization and the appearance of the towns and the houses, the difference between Zone 1 and [2]1 is great. In Zone 1 the country-side is better organized and possesses better roads, while the telephone system had appeared there before the last war, etc. On the other hand the towns which, as we have already shown, are almost all small, can hardly be called such at all.

The towns of Zone [2]1 are new towns which have had the benefit of modern organization, while the country-side still has a colonial appearance, without roads, with numerous isolated hamlets and farms, far removed from each other.

Now a few words about the ethnical composition of the population of the Ukraine. The most important minorities living on Ukrainian territory are the following:

First of all the Great Russians; workers, officials, and some colonists in the eastern and southern parts, especially in the New Russia. Then the Jews, very numerous (about 2,500,000), almost all traders, artisans, or members of the free professions before the Revolution; to-day employees in commerce, in the State co-operatives

[2]1 [Kiev--Analyst]
[2]1 [see category 116, pp. 139-140---Analyst]

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However, the Ukrainization of education slowly approached its goal. It is impossible to determine the actual number of Ukrainian children studying in Ukrainian schools, for the school statistics contained only the total number of children studying in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and other schools; and while some Ukrainian children studied in non-Ukrainian schools, many non-Ukrainian children studied in Ukrainian schools. However, an approximate idea of the extent of Ukrainization can be gained by comparing the proportion of school children in Ukrainian schools with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. According to the school census of December, 1927, ten years after the Bolshevik Revolution, 75.8 percent of all pupils in elementary schools were in schools conducted entirely in Ukrainian; 6.9 percent were in schools in which some classes were conducted in Ukrainian and some in other languages; and 10.6 per cent were in Russian schools.[25] As the Ukrainians in 1927 were estimated at 80.1 percent of the total population and the Russians at 9.2 percent, the elementary schools might be considered to be nearing the goal of Ukrainization. The seven-year schools, then the predominant type of middle schools, lagged behind the elementary schools because they were relatively more numerous in the Russianized cities; of the pupils in these schools, 60.7 per cent were in Ukrainian schools, 14.7 percent in mixed schools and 15.5 per cent in Russian schools.

In some places, particularly in some cities, the Ukrainization policy overshot its mark. Whereas the Ukrainian population of Kiev was estimated at 41.1 percent of the total population in 1927, 49.8 percent of its school children were attending Ukrainian schools, 5.9 percent mixed schools and 30.6 percent Russian schools.[26] The proportion of pupils in Ukrainian schools was also greater than the proportion of the Ukrainian population in Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk. This situation, as shall be noted below, was regarded unfavorably by some writers in the newspapers, but the charges of "over-Ukrainization" received little attention from the government until after 1933. During the period from 1923 to 1933 the government was concentrating its efforts upon suppressing Russian nationalism and upon providing the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nationalities with schools conducted in their own languages.

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In this period much attention was also given to the Ukrainization of technical and higher educational institutions, but in these institutions the lack of teachers knowing Ukrainian, of text-books and of good-will was an even greater handicap than in the Ukrainization of

[25] *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini na 15 Grudnja 1927 (Peperedni Pidsumki Škilnogo Perepisy)*, Kharkov, 1928, pp. 20–21. [26] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

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the general schools. As early as 1923 the government ordered the gradual Ukrainization of various technical schools ("technicums," "workers' faculties," etc.) and of higher educational institutions (medical, art, pedagogical, engineering and other "institutes").[27] Vacancies in their teaching and administrative staffs were to be filled preferably with people knowing Ukrainian; some courses were to be conducted in Ukrainian immediately; all students were obliged to study Ukrainian history, literature, economic geography and language; Ukrainian dictionaries and lists of Ukrainian equivalents for Russian scientific terms were to be issued in order to hasten Ukrainization. After the promulgation of this law the process of Ukrainizing technical and higher educational institutions proceeded under the constant prodding of the Commissariat of Education;[28] but by the summer of 1926 only a small proportion of these schools were considered fully Ukrainized, the chief obstacle being that the faculties did not know Ukrainian: in Odessa and Kharkov, for example, only six percent of the professors in the higher educational institutions had mastered that language.[29] At this time the Central Committee of the Party stepped into the picture and ordered an intensification of efforts to Ukrainize these institutions.[30]

A lively flurry of activity to bring the technical and higher schools into line followed the Central Committee's directive, which was passed along by the local committees.[31] The Commissariat of Education ordered the Ukrainization of all technical schools, except those serving national minorities, by the beginning of the school year 1927–28.[32] The Scientific-Pedagogical Society of the Ukrainian Academy of Science held a series of conferences to improve the teaching of the Ukrainian language, literature and history; to work out and distribute lists of Ukrainian scientific terms; and to establish Ukrainization courses for faculty members.[33] Finally, the Ukrainian government took a long step toward the Ukrainization of these schools when its basic statute on education, adopted in 1927, formulated a series of definite rules pertaining to technical and higher schools.[34] All students entering these institutions were to be examined in their knowledge, unless they had graduated from Ukrainian middle schools. Professors, other teachers and scientific workers were to possess a knowledge of Ukrainian equivalent to that demanded of government officials, and

[27] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . ., 1923, part 1, sec. 430, pp. 896–897.
[28] E.g. *Kommunist*, Mar. 6, 1925; Mar. 20, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, July 6, 1926.
[29] *Proletarska Pravda*, July 6, 1926. [30] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1926.
[31] This was done, for example, by the Kiev Regional Committee of the Party.—*Ibid.*, July 15, 1926. [32] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1926. [33] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1926, July 22, 1926.
[34] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . ., 1927, part 1, sec. 157, pp. 626–628.

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no professor or other teacher could be appointed unless he could conduct his courses in Ukrainian.[35] Institutions for scientific research and for preparing research workers, including the universities, were to be conducted in Ukrainian; and candidates for degrees in such institutions were not to be accepted until they had passed an examination in that language.

Progress in Ukrainizing the technical and higher educational institutions was indicated by the school census of 1927. The Ukrainian language was used for instruction in educational establishments embracing 14.2 percent of the students in the higher institutes, 33.7 percent of the students in the technicums and 47.4 percent of those in other types of technical schools.[36] Although the actually Ukrainized institutes and technicums were not numerous, many of the others were then undergoing Ukrainization. Establishments using both Ukrainian and Russian contained 74.8 percent of the students in the institutes, 43.7 percent of those in the technicums and 33.3 percent of those in other types of technical schools. Only 7.1 percent of the students in the institutes, 17.7 percent of those in the technicums and 13.7 percent in other technical schools still studied exclusively in Russian.[37]

After 1927 the process of Ukrainization proceeded steadily, but in 1929 the Party and the government still regarded the condition of the higher and technical schools pessimistically. Kossior, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, stated that a considerable part of the teachers and professors in these institutions were hostile to Ukrainization;[38] and newspaper reports bore him out. In Odessa, for example, Professors Tolstoi and Demetz refused to teach in Ukrainian and considered that all lecturers who did so were "renegades."[39] In 1929 the Commissariat of Education was forced to rule that all students intending to graduate from higher educational institutions would first have to pass an examination in the Ukrainian language equivalent to that demanded of government officials.[40]

[35] Only students and professors coming to the Ukraine from other republics were to be permitted additional time to fulfill the requirements.

[36] *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 48–51. In this period technicums were classified with higher educational institutions rather than with other types of technical or "professional" schools, which were in turn classified as middle schools. The other technical schools included "workers' faculties," "workers' evening professional schools," "schools of the working youth," "long-term courses," "schools of brigade apprenticeship," and "trade-union schools."

[37] This data was given in a speech by Kossior, published in *Proletari* (organ of the central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine and of the All-Ukrainian Council of Trade-Unions), July 17, 1930. [38] *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1929.

[39] *Komsomolec Ukraini* (organ of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Union of the Youth of the Ukraine), Mar. 16, 1929. [40] *Proletari*, Apr. 25, 1919.

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At this time, when the whole problem of Ukrainizing the highly Russianized Don Basin and other industrial regions in the Ukraine was being attacked, the failure to Ukrainize the school system was frequently mentioned.[41] Even a directive of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, in January 1930, stated that in the industrial regions only the schools for general education and for extirpating illiteracy had been Ukrainized; and the directive ordered the Commissariat of Education to examine the faculty members of the technical and higher schools on their knowledge of Ukrainian, and to take steps to insure that these people possessed such a knowledge.[42]

During 1930 and 1931 the reports on the Ukrainization of technical and higher schools were limited largely to items of "self-criticism" which pointed out obstacles or found fault with specific institutions and individuals. The professors in the Medical Institute in Kharkov now knew Ukrainian, but the process of Ukrainization was being retarded by the lack of Ukrainian text-books.[43] In the Lisenko Theatrical Institute in Kiev the classes were conducted in Ukrainian, but the reporter complained that extra-class work was still being carried on in Russian.[44] An investigation of the Institute of Consumer Coöperation and of the Veterinary Institute revealed that the majority of the students still spoke Russian among themselves and that two professors of the former institution refused to instruct their classes in Ukrainian.[45] Both professors and students in the Construction Institute and the Chemical Institute were reported to be hostile to the use of Ukrainian: one of the professors had been discharged for this reason, and the students had declared Ukrainization to be proper only for the middle schools. Because the library lacked Ukrainian books and only three of the hundred and twenty-two journals received were in Ukrainian, the administration of the Chemical Institute was upbraided for opposition to Ukrainization.[46] The Textile and Mining Institutes were also cited as examples of the failure to Ukrainize properly.[47]

The years up to 1933 constituted the high-pressure period of Ukrainization; after 1933 the government concentrated its attention chiefly upon suppressing the tendency to "over-Ukrainize," where such a tendency was discernible, and upon rectifying the results of this tendency which had already appeared. This was not a new pol-

[41] E. g., *Komsomolec Ukraini*, May 16, 1929, June 26, 1929.
[42] *Proletari*, Jan. 3, 1930. [43] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1930.
[44] *Proletarska Pravda*, Sept. 22, 1931. [45] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1931.
[46] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1931. [47] *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1931.

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children into Russian or Ukrainian schools. One reporter in 1933 gave evidence to show that some Jewish parents had desired their children to attend non-Jewish schools, but that pressure had been brought to bear upon them by zealous officials to send their children to the Jewish schools newly constructed for them.[60]

As an illustration of the attitude of the children themselves, an experience of the author may be pertinent. Upon visiting a Jewish school in Kiev, he observed that some of the pupils were carrying Russian text-books; and to the enquiry as to whether no Yiddish books existed for those subjects, several pupils replied: "Oh, yes; but we like to read the Russian texts better than the Yiddish." The school happened to be located in the old Jewish section of Kiev, and undoubtedly the children were sent to this school either because they spoke Yiddish at home (but not amongst themselves) or because of the superior facilities offered by a new institution; and if they had been able to decide for themselves, it is possible that many of these children would have chosen to attend Russian or even Ukrainian [191] schools. Russian is the language of a culture stronger than the secular non-Hebrew culture conveyed by the Yiddish language in the Soviet Union; Russian is also the language spoken in Moscow and generally throughout the U.S.S.R.; and all those pupils, and parents, too, who ever expect to move freely about the Union must have complete mastery of the Russian language. What is true of the Jews is also true of the Poles, Germans, Czechs and others.

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That the children of the minorities had to master the Russian and Ukrainian languages if they desired to continue their education on the higher levels is indicated by the nature of the technical and higher educational institutions in the Ukraine. It was impossible to set up an electrical engineering institute for a handful of Poles or Assyrians, or to establish every type of higher educational institution for the Jews. Hence, as the statistics for 1927 indicated, most of the technical and higher educational institutions taught in Ukrainian, Russian or a mixture of the two. Of the students in the lower technical schools (technical schools other than technicums) only 1.4 percent studied in Jewish schools, 0.1 percent in Polish schools, 0.3 percent in German schools, 0.1 percent in the schools of other minorities, and 3.0 percent studied in schools that had one or more of the minority languages together with either Russian or Ukrainian or both.[61] There were no institutes using exclusively the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian minority languages, although 3.9 percent of the students studied

[60] *Proletarska Pravda*, Mar. 29, 1933.

[61] *Statistika Ukraina. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48–51.

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in institutes that conducted part of their work in Russian or Ukrainian and part in other languages. Of the students in the technicums, 1.5 percent studied in technicums using the Jewish language, 0.5 percent in those using Polish, 0.7 percent in those using German, 0.5 per cent in those using other non-Russian minority languages, and 0.5 percent in technicums using Russian or Ukrainian and one or more of the other languages. These figures do not signify that the Jewish, Polish or German children were deprived of a chance to study in technical and higher schools; on the contrary, the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian student body in these establishments, as will be noted below, was relatively larger than the Ukrainian and Russian student body.

The work of establishing schools using the languages of the smaller nationalities continued after 1927; in fact, it was given additional impetus by the campaign of 1933–35 against nationalist influences in the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education. But before examining the effects of this campaign, it is necessary to note the attitude toward Russian schools. At the core of the process of Ukrainization was the transformation of Russian into Ukrainian schools; and it was not surprising that there appeared in at least some areas a tendency to deprive the Russian-speaking population of an opportunity to study in Russian schools. This was, to be sure, not at all the intention of the government. In its decree in expanding general education, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee ordered that "special attention be directed toward assuring schools with instruction in the Russian language for all children of the Russian nationality."[62] But, as has been noted above, the proportion of pupils studying in Ukrainian schools in some places — especially in the larger cities — was greater than the proportion of Ukrainians in the population. A writer in *Proletarska Pravda* (*Proletarian Truth*) claimed in 1926 that the general schools in Kiev were being over-Ukrainized.[63] He was answered by another writer, who argued that whereas the criticism was based on an examination of the number of *schools*, there was still a larger proportion of *classes* being held in Russian than the proportion of Russians in the total population; and the second writer denounced the first for bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of the Soviet national policy.[64] The criticism was proven correct by the school statistics for 1927; but since the process of Ukrainization was in full swing and since at this time the Party considered the Russian nationalists

[62] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1926, part 1, sec. 453, p. 1246.
[63] *Proletarska Pravda*, Oct. 2, 1926. [64] *Ibid.*

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one hundred seventeen of every thousand people.[72] The middle schools had expanded greatly by 1937; the fifth to tenth grades embraced 1,927,100 pupils in 1937 as compared with 347,900 pupils in 1928, an increase of 554 percent in ten years.[73]

While the school system was expanding quantitatively, the number of children studying in Ukrainian schools was also increasing. During the school year 1935–36, the year that marked the end of the campaign to check over-Ukrainization, 83.0 percent of the pupils in the general schools were studying in the Ukrainian language. This percentage coincides roughly with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. It also represents a higher percentage of pupils in Ukrainian schools than attended such schools in 1927, a fact which resulted from the expansion of middle schools in the rural areas and from the decline in the number of children attending schools in some of the other languages. During the school year 1935–36, 12.7 percent of all the pupils in the general schools studied in Russian, 1.4 percent in Jewish, 1.3 percent in German, 0.5 percent in Moldavian and 0.5 percent in Polish schools.[74] In absolute numbers, there had been an increase between 1927 and 1935–36 in the pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Greek languages; there had been a decline in the number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Swedish and Assyrian languages; and schools had been established for Uzbeks, Belorussians, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Turkomens and Latvians.[75]

With regard to the technical and higher educational institutions, the author has no figures on the number of students in the Ukrainized

[72] The figure for the number of pupils in 1937 is taken from *Socialističeskoe Stroitelstvo Sojuza S.S.S.R., 1933–1938* gg. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), p. 163.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[74] *Socialistična Ukraina. Statistični Zbirnik* (Kiev, 1937), p. 222.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 222. *Statistika Ukrajni. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 20–26. A comparison of absolute figures for 1927 and 1935–36 must take into account that the statistics for 1927 gave the total number of pupils in mixed schools but not the number studying in various languages used in these schools. The number of pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Czech languages in 1935–36 was greater than the number studying in their own schools in 1927 plus the total number in mixed schools using these languages for some classes. The conclusion that there was a decline in the total number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Assyrian and Swedish languages is arrived at by considering roughly the number of pupils in mixed schools studying in these languages. For example, in 1927 there were 68,836 pupils in Jewish schools; in 1935–36 there were 69,211 pupils studying in the Jewish language; hence, there were 375 more pupils *studying in Jewish* in 1935–36 than had been *attending Jewish schools* in 1927. But in 1927 there were 11,603 pupils in mixed schools using Jewish and either Russian or Ukrainian; in all probability there were more than 375 pupils in these schools who were being taught in Jewish; and by 1935–36 the surplus above 375 had been lost to Jewish classes, indicating a decline in the total number studying in Jewish.

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schools for the years after 1927; and one might conclude from the lack of such figures in the important statistical collections that Ukrainization has ceased or has been reversed. However, this conclusion would not be consistent with the continued stress on the preparation of "Ukrainian cadres," which was the primary purpose of Ukrainizing these institutions. The need for Ukrainian engineers, agronomists, writers and scientific workers was emphasized both by Kossior and by the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1937.[76] Kossior, moreover, stated that there had been a large increase in the number of Ukrainian professors, instructors, scientific workers and candidates for higher degrees. Finally, the number of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technical and higher schools had grown absolutely and relatively. Between 1927 and 1936 the total number of students in the technicums had increased from 29,300 to 133,300; in the workers' faculties, from 7,400 to 53,500; and in the institutes from 28,200 to 108,200.[77] The increase for the technicums was 455 percent, for the workers' faculties 722 percent and for the institutes 384 percent. In the meanwhile, the proportion of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technicums had risen from 58.0 to 75.3 percent; in the workers' faculties from 57.9 to 65.0 percent; and in the institutes from 48.8 to 53.7 percent.[78] The number of students from among the minorities had increased absolutely but had fallen relatively. Since the increasing proportion of the students were Ukrainians (probably chiefly graduates of Ukrainian general schools and therefore favorable to and easily adaptable to courses conducted in Ukrainian), and since the number of Ukrainian faculty members had risen, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the process of Ukrainizing the technical and higher institutions had continued even after the intensive campaign against the nationalists was undertaken in 1933.

As for the obligatory study of the Ukrainian language in the schools of the other nationalities — provided for in laws of 1920 and 1927[79] — no change has taken place. An order of the Commissariat of Education, issued in December 1940 and just received by the author, clearly indicates this fact. The order is designed to facilitate the study of Ukrainian by children who have come from other republics and, having entered non-Ukrainian schools, are handicapped in the study of

[76] *Visti*, May 30, 1937; June 6, 1937. [77] *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 133.

[78] The percentages for 1927 are taken from *Desjati Z'izd Kommunističnoi Partii (Bil'shovikiv) Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48–52. The percentages for 1936 are from *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 152.

[79] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1920, part 1, sec. 509, p. 713; 1927, part 1, sec. 157, p. 626.

741 illiterates to learn to read by means of special
517 courses, and it gave scholarships to worthy students. So, it is not surprising that the Poles did not care for the "Prosvita". Thus in the last ten years all of the 600 local groups in Polesia and Volhynia and 70% of all local groups west of the Shan were dissolved. In 1938 Warsaw intensified its war against the "Prosvita"; in that year 104 local groups /95/ were dissolved and in the first five months of 1939 the same happened even to two district centers with 168 local groups. In spite of that, the Ukrainians organized 375 new local groups from 1936 to 1938.

575 Peasants and agriculturists numbering 160,000
874 united in the "Silskyj Hospodar" ("farmer") in order to arrange for or to obtain agricultural training. The "Silskyj Hospodar" employed approximately 150 social agronomists, that is, agriculturists with diplomas, who supervised improvement of the soil, methods of cultivating, seed production and whole farm establishments. They conducted courses and competitions in which the young farmers who were eager for knowledge actively participated. Special veterinarians of the society and of the dairy farm cooperatives supervised the livestock.

562 The Ukrainian women of Galicia were anxious
575 not to be second to the men. Their society "Soyuz Ukrayinok" numbered 60,000 members in 1200 village circles. In the national life of the people the Ukrainian woman occupies a high position, as is the case among all healthy races. In times of national misfortune the mothers are the preservers of the old manners and customs; the children learn the language and the traditional songs from their mothers, to whom the rising generations are entrusted. Their glowing patriotism is not surpassed by the men. At the same time the West Ukrainian woman is deeply religious and tirelessly industrious; she excels in the household.

000 Everything in West Ukraine is education work.